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Compliments of
HENRY B. ATHERTON,
NASHUA, N. H.

WHICH:

American Unity, or British Domination?

Memorial Address at Antrim, N. H., May 30, 1893.

BY HENRY B. ATHERTON OF NASHUA, N. H.

Price paid to Preserve the Union.

Comrades and Friends:

In the war for the Union New Hampshire had 33,937 enlisted men, or, reduced to a three years' standard 30,849. That was more than 10 per cent. of our whole population, and more than half of the male population between the ages of 18 and 45. In other words one out of every 9.6 men, women and children, or one for every two households in the state, enlisted in defence of the Union. Of this number 4,882 or 16.7 per cent. died in the service. There were killed or mortally wounded 1963 or 6.5 per cent. a percentage of killed exceeded by only two states, Vermont and Pennsylvania.

The total number enrolled in the Union army was 2,326,168 and of them 110,070, or 4.7 per cent. were killed or died of their wounds. The deaths in the service from all causes was 359,528 or 15.4 per cent. Thus it will be seen that when a man volunteered for the suppression of the rebellion he took one chance in 20 of being killed in battle and one chance in 6 of dying in the service.

The average age of the men in the Union army was 25 years. Of those who successfully passed their medical examination at enlistment the average expectation of life was 40 years. Here was a shortening of his life by 40 years of each one of 359,528 men who died in the service, or a loss, taken collectively, of 14,381,120 years of human life, to say nothing of those who died of disease or wounds after their discharge.

To each one of these life was as sweet as to you or me. This was the price our fallen comrades paid for the restoration of the Union. By the side of this appalling sacrifice of human life, the destruction of property and the waste of treasure sink into insignificance. Even the annual disbursement for pensions to the survivors and to the widows and dependent relatives of those who died, about which there is now so much patriotic, not to say political, concern and anxiety, dwindles to nothing in comparison. Nobody is conscious of any sacrifice in making those payments. If anybody's property or income is diminished by it, the loss is imperceptible to him. Our comrades gave 14,391,120 years of their lives that we might individually and collectively as a people have the prosperity we now enjoy.

I have spoken only of those who died in the service. Others of our comrades also made sacrifices; some in impaired health and shortened lives and the consequent inability to provide for themselves and their families as they otherwise might. Some left school and gave up the hope of a higher education. Many lost the opportunity to make for themselves fortunes, as those who remained at home could do, in trade, manufactures or finance. They lost also in many cases the chance for political preferment. This may be contrary to the general impression and seems a little singular in a state where patriotism was never at a discount. A glance at some of the state offices filled since 1861 will I think sustain the statement. Of 372 state senators chosen in that period I recognize the names of only about a dozen who were in the service; of 17 speakers of the house only two; of 24 presidents of the senate, none; of six attorney generals, one; of ten railroad commissioners, none; of 45 councillors, only three or four; of 19 appointments to the bench of the supreme and supreme judicial courts, one; and of 17 governors, only two. And yet it will hardly be claimed that the 46 per cent. of the men of a military age in New Hampshire who, through physical infirmity or from prudential reasons remained at home, had on an average more ability, character or patriotism than the 54 per cent. who went to the front. Thus in this state at least, it seems that the opportunity for political preferment was another sacrifice which the public spirited volunteer made when he enlisted.

There were many minor personal inconveniences and hardships also which he was called upon to undergo. He relinquished the comforts of home, the companionship of friends, the freedom of civil life and voluntarily took upon himself the deprivations of a life in camp and on the march, and a ready submission to the command of his superior officers. He underwent exposure to heat and cold, to rain and snow, miasma and disease under conditions where he could do but little to protect himself.

Was it Worth the Cost?

Looking back after the lapse of thirty years, was it our duty to do what in our old time enthusiasm we then believed it was? Was the preservation of the American Union worth all the sacrifice, all the waste of treasure and human life which it cost? Was that war for freedom and humanity worth fighting? The government of the United States could have chosen the other alternative and permitted state after state at the South to secede. We could have recognized the independence of the new Confederacy, the corner stone of which, according to Alexander H. Stephens its vice president, was human slavery. We could pusillanimously have abandoned the border states and treachously have turned our backs upon the Union men of the South. We might have permitted the dismemberment of this Union and consented to the peaceful establishment of a rival government within its limits. If we had waited until the new Confederacy was well organized, armed, and fortified, with a full treasury and possibly a strong foreign alliance, and it had then demanded the territories and the Pcific slope for the further extension of slavery, we should have been still less able to resist these demands of the Confederacy grown strong and powerful. The aggressions of the South would have become every day more and more insolent and overbearing, until the remaining fragment of the old Union had been either ingloriously subjugated, or at last, when shorn of territory, treasure and men, it would have been goaded into armed resistance to these encroachments. In the latter event it would have been war at last with the odds against the Union cause greatly increased by the delay.

Even if this latter alternative had been averted to the present time, and we, too timid to assert our rights and too cowardly to do our duty, had deferred the issue for a generation and left to our children, with our tarnished honor, a divided heritage and a war yet to be waged, the situation would not be a pleasant one for us to contemplate.

The Other Alternative.

We should now behold one people of the same descent, speaking the same language, possessing the same common law, the same literature and history, broken into two or more fragments with separate governments and rival and conflicting interests, ready to fly at each others throats on the slightest provocation and each always a prey to the political interference and intrigues of any foreign power, which in order to divide and conquer us might desire to make the separation between the sections permanent. We should see a row of custom houses and military posts along the Chesapeake, the Ohio, the Missouri, across the plains and over the mountains to the Pacific along an imaginary line between two rival and antagonistic states.

The inland commerce of the western rivers would be passing through foreign territory to reach the Gulf or the Atlantic. The people would be supporting the burden of two governments where now but one exists. To this would be added the expense of vast standing armies, as in Europe, in which the men would serve while the women tilled the fields. Two navies would be needed each larger than the one we now have. The car of progress would be halted. The hands on the dial of time would move downward showing that the mid day of the world's civilization had passed. Retrogression would be the order of the day. Liberty would take flight, free institutions would cease to exist and that state whose corner stone was the hideous wrong of chattel slavery would soon elevate to power the despot and tyrant.

But this country could not be thus divided and continue half free and half pro-slavery, half on the pathway of modern civilization and half incorporating the barbarism of slavery and gradually reverting to monarchy or some form of absolute government. It is more than probable that in the North, also, human freedom and the rights of the individual would at last be sacrificed, the light of civilization become obscure and the hopes of the oppressed and downtrodden everywhere die out.

As this country could not remain half slave and half free so it could not long continue half Confederate and half Union. The spirit of secession, let loose and given free rein, all respect for written statutes and constitutions would cease. Selfish interest, unreasoning prejudice, momentary impulse would rise superior to the law. Personal differences would be perpetuated in Corsican vendettas and Kentucky feuds. Lynch law, illegal shooting and hanging, torture and burning alive as recently practiced in the South might prevail and thus, imperceptibly perhaps but none the less certainly, conduct society backward to the horrid cruelties and fiendish barbarism of the medieval persecutions.

Instead of a comparatively short, sharp

and decisive conflict in the beginning, as the war for the Union really was, we should have entailed for ourselves and our children after us an interminable struggle growing each year more barbarous in its character. Possibly in the North, as already in the South, the ballot, as the expression of the will of a sovereign people would no longer be held sacred, and fraud and force, false counts and the shot gun would usurp its place. Elections would be carried by fear and intimidation, until elections even in form would be no longer held, and a score of military tyrants, under the guise of seeking to preserve order, would hold place and power as the result of successful revolution.

Our Present Prosperity.

Hold your gaze for a moment on this dark picture of what might have been in order that you may the more clearly realize what our comrades did for the welfare of this people—that by the contrast you may the more distinctly see the blessings secured to the inhabitants of this country by the successful prosecution of the war for the Union.

Look now on the American Union preserved—65,000,000 of people at peace with one another and all the world—each one free to pursue his own honest calling in his own way—peace and plenty within our borders—the hand of this free government resting so lightly upon us that we cannot feel it—no honest man afraid of the civil power—every branch of human industry multiplying and extending—education diffused and reaching further and further every year—a broad belt of fertile territory extending from ocean to ocean through the temperate zone, with every variety of climate and production that civilized man can desire—separated by thousands of miles of trackless ocean from the great military powers of Europe.

It would seem that here and now the highest problems in self-government and civilization are to be wrought out to a successful issue. No where else and at no other time from the very nature of things can the conditions be so favorable. A free country where every man has fair play and equal opportunity. The love of liberty has invited the best of all lands to our shores. The dismal exception now and again only proves the general rule. They come educated by labor, instructed by travel, animated and impelled by a love of free institutions, they expect here to better their condition. When they reach our shores the yoke is lifted from their necks. They are no longer the personal thralls of mercenary lords or lordlings. They are no longer subjected to time-honored abuses or the tyranny of ancient privilege. When their feet touch American soil the hideous nightmare which tends to cramp body and soul in the old world is dispelled.

The Look Ahead

Here on this continent we are building up a mighty and masterful race, superior to any the world has ever yet produced. The American of the future we may believe, will unite in himself the best characteristics of all the superior races—the administrative power of the Norman—the fidelity of the Teuton, the battle fury of the Celt as well as his poetic imagination—the love of fair play of the Englishman united to the sturdy good sense of the Scotsman, and a physique correspondingly superior to all who have gone before—sound minds in sound bodies, "mens sana in corpore sano."

With a population thus composed, which increases a hundred fold every twenty-five years, some of you now living may expect to see a hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants in this country, and the grandchildren of our grandchildren, a population as great as that of the whole world today—or reckoning safely enough that this territory can sustain a population one half as dense as that of Belgium, our grandchildren will live to see here a people numbering seven hundred millions.

A recent brilliant French writer says of America, "in fifty years she will have more than two hundred millions of inhabitants. If during that time Europe makes progress only in the arts and sciences, while the social condition of its nations does not improve, she will be to America what barbarism is to civilization." This is not the exaggeration of a poet's vision nor the wild dream of an optimist, but the sober conclusion of a thoughtful observer.

So far as we can conjecture or the human mind can conceive, only those three scourges of the human race, famine, pestilence or war, can prevent the fulfilment of this forecast.

As to the danger of any widespread famine, our fertile soil and the great variety of its products, and our facilities for their quick transportation, coupled with our individual intelligence, prosperity and self control, make the peril from that source remote indeed. We have long since passed that stage in our development as a people when we could reasonably apprehend danger from that source.

What the future has in store for us in the nature of pestilence no human mind can forsee. A comparatively harmless appearing influenza may become as fatal as Asiatic cholera or threaten the distruction of the population of the whole globe. We can imagine such a possibility. But with the spread of education and its thousand civilizing influences, with the constant improvement both in sanitary

and hygienic conditions, and in the knowledge of disease and the healing art, and with our remarkably healthful climate, we have little to fear from any wide spread or long continued pestilence.

War?

But of war who can say? Because today the sun shines are we to believe the storm will never come? The millennium however much we may wish it, has not yet dawned. The lamb cannot yet lie down with the lion in any degree of safety to the lamb. Europe does not support the almost intolerable burden of her vast standing armies for the pleasure of it. When in the midst of that immense powder magazine some sceptered hand shall ruthlessly strike the spark that will spread desolation far and wide, when Europe is again reeking with carnage and slaughter, what guarranty have we that our own country may not become involved?

As often at least as once in a generation this people thus far have engaged in war, so that from father to son each generation in turn has had the opportunity to thus offer that supreme service to their country. We helped to put down the Rebellion. Our fathers fought England in 1812. Their fathers again fought England in the war of the Revolution to establish an independent Continental power in North America. Such a government was established but it fell short of the original design because it failed to embrace the whole continent. The French settlements on the St. Lawrence under the control of their bishop declined to unite their fortunes with those of the young Republic. The fathers of the Revolutionary heroes fought for Continental unity in the French and Indian wars. Frequently the same generation has served in more than one war. Stark learned something of the art of war as a prisoner under his Indian captors in Canada, later, as one of Rogers' Rangers in the French war, before he commanded a regiment of New Hampshire troops at Bunker Hill or led the Green Mountain Boys at Bennington. Scott fought in the war of 1812, the Mexican war, and lived to take a part in the opening scenes of the war for the Union.

I remember meeting in the service at Alexandria during the Rebellion an artilleryman who had served in Ringold's famous battery in the Mexican war. His service, I recollect, in the land of the Montezumas had developed a peculiar and rather startling kind of patriotism as exhibited in his oaths. Unlike the Greeks who swore "by all the gods at once," his deities were exclusively of this Continent. Apparently his favorite oath was "By the great North American Jehovah." In his mind Jehovah was as much the peculiar deity of the northern portion of this continent as he had been originally of the Hebrews, and evidently to him the whole United States was "God's country" as was the loyal section of it to the prisoner in Andersonville or Salisbury. While I deprecated his profanity I had a hearty respect for his continental patriotism.

In the usual course of events sufficient time has elapsed for this people to be again engaged in war. But for the valor which you, my comrades, and others like you displayed on many a well fought field this nation would have been again engaged in war long before now. Indeed it is not probable that the Alabama claims would ever have been arbitrated or paid by England had there not been a million or more disciplined soldiers in this country at the time. Even as it was a large section of the Tory party were eager to fight. We have another arbitration on hand now but the situation is changed. Grant and Sherman and Sheridan are dead. We should not be worth so much in offensive military operations as we were twenty-five years ago but I think one or two hundred thousand disciplined men could still be found who would volunteer to do the state some service in case any of the great powers should attempt the invasion of this country.

According to the statisticians the United States has more wealth than Great Britain, hitherto regarded the wealthiest country in the world, and we have nearly double her population. But undefended wealth invites to attack and nobody knows better than you who were in the service that a thousand well drilled soldiers are more than a match for a mob of ten thousand untrained men. An efficient army, modern fortifications, guns and battle ships necessary for the national defense cannot be improvised in a day. Unbounded wealth will not do it; an immense population is insufficient. It takes the element of time to transform the raw recruit into a soldier and to change money into ships and forts. Such guns as Krupp makes and the English have on some of their forts that will carry a projectile twelve or fourteen miles it takes a year to build. It takes two or three years to build a battle ship. We have a few armed cruisers that compare favorably with anything afloat. We shall have more soon and a battle ship or two so necessary for defence. We have none yet. Our regular army is small, hardly sufficient to keep in subjection a few hostile Indians and anarchists, but answering very well for police purposes. We have as yet no coast defences worth mentioning. A few old fashioned stone forts and torpedo boats will hardly suffice to protect our ten thousand miles of coast, and on our four thousand miles of northern frontier we have no defences at all.

The prospect of an offensive war on our part under such circumstances against any of the first-class powers of the earth is remote indeed—as remote as the prospect of pestilence or famine. As yet we are in no condition to wage such a war. We cannot in the words of Bismark "strike the striker" nor "insult the insulter." Should Germany, for instance, smite us on one cheek we may in a spirit of Christian humility (making a virtue of our necessity) turn the other also. We can spare no vessels to send against her shores, we have no coaling stations and no great lines of subsidized steam ships as the English have, which we could take to transport troops across the Atlantic. We could pocket the insult no matter how great to our people or flag. If Germany had a foothold on this continent we might possibly be able to strike back, resent the injury and protect our honor, but with no such opportunity for reprisals, we should find the ocean too wide for our guns and our ships. On the other hand neither Germany nor any other great power without territory on this side of the Atlantic to serve as a base of operations, will alone be likely to break the peace. We shall not be likely to give them provocation. Our mercantile marine engaged in ocean transportation is not, as yet, large enough to tempt their fleets. They might destroy our coasting trade and devastate our seaports but without a secure base of operations here, Germany alone could not expect to conquer and hold any of our territory.

With France it might have been different had the France of Louis Napoleon succeeded in establishing a "Latin empire" in Mexico under the ill-fated Maximillian. Mexico might then have proved a dangerous neighbor to our southern border. But that scion of the Hapsburgs found North America a cold place for planting hostile Latin empires and sacrificed his life to the chimerical idea. The France of Lafayette and Carnot, Republican France, has always been friendly to the United States. It was France under the son of the Dutch admiral "Napoleon the Little" that was so urgent to have England unite with her in recognizing the Confederacy.

Russia a Friend in Need.

From Russia, with her immense army and magnificent navy, our country has nothing to fear. Russia has never made war on the United States, and, although we are neighbors in Behring's Sea, she never will. True, Russia is not a republic and her populations are not yet prepared for that, but what Cæsar did for the civilization of the world in pushing back the frontier of barbarism to the Rhine, what Charles the Great did in still further carrying back that frontier to the Vistula, that the descendants of Ruric have done in subjugating the Mongol hordes, which at one time threatened the very existence of European civilization, and in forcing back the frontier of barbarism over the Urals and across Siberia to the Pacific on one line, and beyond the Caspian and across hostile Turkestan to the borders of Afghanistan and India, on another. Russia has more than once been our friend in need. Do you remember one time during the war seeing a Russian fleet in the Potomac? That was when Louis Napoleon and the Tory ministry of England contemplated recognizing the Southern Confederacy and it was believed that such recognition was intended to lead to armed intervention against the Union cause. We had enough to do then to fight the rebels without having France and England join them against us. Then, if any cause ever needed a strong and fearless friend, ours did. Russia was that friend. It is now an open secret that in case Louis Napoleon and Tory England should make a hostile demonstration against us the admiral of the Russian fleet was to report for orders to Abraham Lincoln. By reason of the ties of kindred, race, literature, common history and all that, we love our good cousin John Bull as we are in duty and sentiment bound to do, but when we know that he is seeking to crush the life out of the republic, the armed Muscovite at our elbow is a more "cheering sight to see."

It is thought by some that Russia ceded to us her vast American possessions in Alaska and the waters and islands of Behring's sea simply for the seven millions dollars which Mr. Seward paid her but I hazard the opinion that the cession was made not for the paltry price we paid but rather to serve notice on all the world that in the view of the "White Czar" all the territory of North America from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean should rightfully be controlled by the United States.

This government sustains friendly relations toward all the other American states. By our maintainance of the Monroe doctrine they well know that they obtain all the advantages of a defensive alliance with us with no corresponding risk to themselves.

England Our only Probable Foe.

Apparently the only source of the dangers which may come to us in the shape of war to mar our general prosperity and retard the wheels of our national progress is England—England the mother country—England our ancient foe, who in two wars has tried to cripple us—England, our rival in commerce and manufactures, who taking advantage of our

dire distress while engaged in a life and death struggle, helped with Confederate rams and cruisers to destroy our ocean commerce, supplanting it with her own, and now by her subsidized lines across the continent and on the Pacific, is using every effort to get control of our internal trans-continental traffic.

Has England the means, has she the purpose, on occasion, to make war on this country?

In these days of modestly lowering the American flag for fear of intrusion upon the ancient domain of our great rival, or through hesitation as to the ability of this nation properly to rule a few thousand Hawaiians, or to hold on to the little possession when once acquired, it is well to consider for a moment the position and attitude of Great Britain.

"There is no timid or incompetent race," says a recent able writer, "on whom she has not rained a storm of bullets in the name of liberty and progress. In Asia, today, with her bayonets steadily pointed at the native and rightful possessors of the soil, she holds India and Punjab, Burmah and the Rangoon, the Malayan Peninsula, Ceylon, Singapore, Hong Kong and Rowloon, while every day her intention to seize Canton and to overrun Corea is manifested in umistakable acts of aggression. At Bombay, at Calcutta, at Ceylon, at Singapore, at Labuan and at Hong Kong she maintains naval and coaling stations from which she keeps the half-civilized natives of Southern Asia forever familiar with the black muzzles of her guns and the ominous odor of her powder.

In Africa, with Egypt curbed and fettered, and both sides of the Arabian Gulf garrisoned, with a dozen groups of little islands in the Arabian sea and a dozen more in the Indian Ocean protecting her route to India and the South Seas, she holds four times the territory of the British Islands. By making constant wars on the natives, she "protects" the entire country drained by the Nile, save only where it runs through the desert.

There are souls to save and ignorant minds to teach in the deserts as around the water coursea, but no ivory. British civilizing processes keep closely to the region where ivory can be obtained coincidentally with the progress of religious and other reforms. In the south of Africa English possessions include Bechuana Land, Natal and Cape Colony, a territory three times as great as the thirteen original states. Zanzibar and Mauritius also owe allegiance to England, and on the west coast, with outposts at Ascension, St. Helena and Ichabod Islands. English dominion reaches over Canara land, the gold coast and Layos, Sierra Leone and Bathurst with vast interior stretches on both sides of the Niger. Around this continent and including the mighty defences at Gibralter, Malta and Aden, the British flag flies above eleven naval and coaling stations where garrisons and stores are maintained.

In the South seas British empire spreads over immense oceans and holds almost every dot of land that rises above them. With Australia, almost equal in area and productive capacity to the United States, as the base of power, it includes a part of Borneo, a part of New Guinea, Tasmania, New Zealand and no less than twenty-five groups of smaller islands to the south and west of Hawaii, besides Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador and the Arctic lands. English dominion on and near the American continent is exerted over the Bermudas, the Bahamas, Jamaica, the Belize, British Guiana, Trinidad, Barbadoes, San Lucia and the Leeward Islands.

When Canada confederated in 1867. the fortress of Halifax was in a condition of decay and could not have resisted the guns of a third-class gunboat. Today Halifax is inpregnable. It is an imperial military and naval station. The nucleus of an army is kept within its fortresses, which are mounted with the most formidable batteries. Bermuda, three days out from Charleston and New York, is equipped with fortifications, which are described in the 'Colonial Year Book' as the 'most perfect and formidable in the world.' A submarine cable connects the fortress at Bermuda with Halifax. It was laid only two years ago, and it cost $1,500,000, a sum ten times greater than the exchanges between the group and Canada. In the reef enclosed harbor of Bermuda Great Britain has a ship building plant, a dry dock that will lift her heaviest seagoing battle ships, a coaling station and a vast system of earth works, mounted with the heaviest guns. Great Britain, since 1867, has immensely strengthened the garrison at Kingston and created an entirely new one in the harbor of Castries, San Lucia. Taking Halifax, Bermuda, Kingston and Castries together, a chain of offensive fortifications is constituted within three days reach of every American Atlantic seaboard city. Each is mounted with guns of the most effective modern type. Each is capable of equipping vessels for sea at an instant's notice. A cable connects them all with each other and with London. A telegram from the British foreign office could send vessels of war from Halifax to Boston in twenty-four hours, from Halifax to New York in two days, from Bermuda to New York, or Washington, or Baltimore, or Charleston, or Philadelphia in three day, or from Jamaica to New Orleans in three days, or from Jamaica to Greytown or Panama in two days, and from St. Lucia to Panama or Greytown in four days. On one of the

Falkland Islands, just north and east of Cape Horn, there is a British coaling station. At Sydney Australia there is another. There is a third recently built and equipped and splendidly armed at the Fiji Islands, and the great defenses at Esquimault, from which at an hour's notice Seattle and Tacoma could be laid waste.

England has guns, forts, coast defences, naval stations, the largest navy in the world, which she intends to keep equal to that of France and Russia combined, or of any other two nations. She has a great many swift steamers for the transportation of troops and munitions of war, on her subsidized commercial lines, which vessels she can call for at any moment; more than all this, she has a foothold on this continent such as no other nation has, a province extending along our unprotected northern frontier for three or four thousand miles. She has a military railway from Halifax on the Atlantic to Port Moody on the Pacific, intended to be used in military operations against this country, and on that account built in a great measure from the imperial treasury. She has free entry for her fleets to the St. Lawrence, through which flow the waters of the great lakes. From her fortress at Halifax she could let slip a swarm of armored cruisers that in forty-eight hours might ruin our coasting trade, devastate our Atlantic coast and lay our unprotected sea coast under contribution. She has a similar coign of vantage on the Pacific at Esquimault.

As for men there once were English yeomen; they no longer exist, and the toilers in her mines and mills, or the "agricultural laborer" cannot make good their place in war, neither can she rely for recruits upon such a population as that of the east end of London. She will call upon Scotland and Ireland and her colonies for men. She has been known to hire Hessians in an emergency. Disraeli once threatened Europe with the Sepoy.

When our ships rode the ocean, she has even been known to look longingly to us for help. In 1852 when war menaced England, her great poet laureate sung:

"Gigantic daughter of the West,
We drink to thee across the flood.
We know thee, and we love thee best,
For art thou not of British blood?
Should War's mad blast again be blown,
Permit not thou the tyrant powers
To fight thy mother here alone,
But let thy broadsides roar with ours.

Hands all round!
God the tyrant's cause confound:
To our dear kinsmen of the West, my friends,
And the great name of England, round and round.

Oh rise, our strong Atlantic sons,
When war against our freedom springs,
Oh speak to England through your guns
They can be understood by kings."

I like the sound of that, a noble sentiment. In her extremity and apparently without friends the British lion "roars you as gently as a sucking dove." But when the hour of our peril came, how different the tune which the British Tories sung.

Then it was the England that met our fathers at Bunker Hill and Bennington, at Hubbardton and Bemis Heights, at Trenton and Yorktown, at Lundy's Lane and New Orleans.

Whether the rulers of England have the inclinations to go to war with the United States or not they have not announced. They have the means and their acts speak. What England does is apparent. With her fortified harbors, her military railways and her armored ships all in such uninvited proximity, she deliberately prepares for war. The ruling party in Canada have appeared anxious to precipitate such a contest, first by annoying and needlessly harrassing our fishermen on the coast of the maritime provinces, and later by invading Behring sea with an apparently deliberate purpose of exterminating our fur-bearing seals. Russia gave us a warranty deed of that section and according to Mr. Lothrop, late minister to that country, in the event of a trial by wager of battle is quite willing to be vouched in to maintain her covenant of warranty. Another Russian fleet in the Potomac would be more reassuring than to behold the English there again burning the Capitol as they did in the war of 1812.

Canadian Annexation Necessary to the National Defence.

If the gentlemen who manage the public affairs of the Dominion succeed in bringing about war between England and the United States it may not prove an unmixed evil. It might result in securing the independence of Canada from Great Britain. However lightly English statesmen speak of the subject of Canadian independence or annexation to this country as a thing wholly indifferent to the mother country, they are hardly sincere. Nobodv now believes England will allow Canada to go in peace. Should Canada make the attempt the batteries aimed at us would be turned against her.

Then again such a war might result in the annexation of Canada to the United States. As a measure of permanent national defence such a result would be desirable for us.

From the time of the French and Indian wars, through the wars of the Revolution and of 1812 even down to the St. Alban's raid, Canada has always furnished the enemy a base of operations against us. England or any other great power in possession of Canada can always strike us in flank. "Esquimault," says a British officer, "holds a loaded pistol at the head of San Francisco." The thing is

irksome and we have endured it too long. If we had only been in a condition to assert our rights we should long ago have demanded of Great Britain to cease her offensive military preparations upon our borders and if she refused we could then have precipitated the war and captured the country before her preparations were completed. It is obvious that these offensive armaments are meant for us and that no other country is their object. England, by the possession of Canada, threatens the United States, as by the possession of Gibraltar she dominates the shores of the Mediterranean and becomes a standing menace to all southern Europe.

As we fought for the preservation of the Union, so, in such a war, our sons would fight for American unity. To paraphrase the words of Abraham Lincoln, when, as yet the country was but dimly conscious of the nearness of the impending crisis, North America cannot remain half American and half British, either it will become all American or all British. We inhabit one country. The line of separation is an imaginary one—a fool's line, as Mr. Murray calls it. The St. Lawrence and the great lakes should not only be used by one people, they should also be owned by one power. One cannot expect the sixty-five millions of this country to go over to the five millions of Canada and with them become tributary to the thirty-eight millions of Great Britain. There was a time in 1760 when these two countries and all English speaking people owed allegiance to Great Britain alone. For years before that, during the long wars between England and her colonies on one side, and France and her colonies on the other, France had continually threatened these English settlements on the Atlantic coast, and sent down her soldiers and her Indians to make war on us, to burn our dwellings and tomahawk our women and children. We captured the great French strongholds Louisbourg, Quebec and Montreal, and terminated the power of France on this continent. In doing this work we were assisted by England to be sure, but our fathers furnished twenty-five thousand men, by far the heaviest contingent. By their action we gained some right to a voice in the disposal of the territory of North America.

In 1760 there were 60,000 French in Canada. Their descendants now number 2,400,000.

The marquis of Lorne, the late Governor General, says they will not amalgamate with us, that they, separated by a century and a half from France, and never having known England, will not become American, but preferring the cold climate and poor soil of the territory about Lake St. John, will locate there and establish a distinctly French Canadian state, speaking only the French language, and attached to the theories in church and state that prevailed in France under the Bourbon kings. In effect my lord says they are incapable of progress, and in this he is mistaken. They do readily amalgamate with the American people and become industrious and thrifty citizens. Those living here did their duty in the war for the Union according to their numbers. They are fast drifting into the current of American progress and American civilization. Like their English, Scotch and Irish neighbors in the Dominion, they like the wages which they can earn under the star spangled banner; and of that 2,400,000 of French descent 800,000 or fully one-third have already crossed the border and united their individual fortunes with those of the Great Republic, a method of annexation thus far mutually advantageous. Besides the French, Canada contains in round numbers a quarter of a million Germans, as many more Scotch and a million each of Irish and English. Of these many are outwardly loyal to the British connection because they think it will continue, but in their hearts their ideal is to belong to the great American commonwealth and partake of its prosperity. The ancestors of many of them now living in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario once lived in Massachusetts and New York. They, too, are coming every day to better their condition. These people make good citizens and after annexation in half a generation will become thoroughly Americanized. Self perservation is the first law of nature and of nations, and in obedience to that law America cannot permit any great and hostile military power to be erected in Canada.

Annexation must come and continental unity will be achieved. War, if Canada or England choose to bring it on, will hasten that result. I have no great confidence in the statesmanship of the "ripe plum" theory of annexation, that Canada when ripe will drop into the lap of the Republic. I am inclined to believe that only by war will it be brought about. European states unite only as a result of war, peaceful unions do not take place. If it must be by war, the more sparse the population the less the resistance. "We want no conquored Polands" it is often said. Senator Hoar says British Columbia contains about 60,000 inhabitants or less than two wards of the city of Boston, certainly not a very populous Poland. We want no people within the Republic against their will; we want no hostile territory adjoining us without, upon which England or any other power can hold pistols or point Krupp cannon at our heads.

If in 1861 there was good reason why no rival nation should be built up in the South, there is the same reason now why no hostile power should threaten us on

the north. If it would have been a stupid thing for this English speaking people to establish a new row of custom houses from the Potomac to the Rocky Mountains, so now it is unwise to continue the one already established a few hundred miles further north. If it was worth the price we paid to preserve the Union of the people and states from St. Paul to the Gulf of Mexico then it is of vital importance to secure American unity from Duluth to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, from the Golden Gate to Sitka and from the place where we are today to the Arctic zone.

Between this country and Canada separation leads to ignorance; ignorance begets hatred; hatred will in time breed hostilities. Thus far circumstances have prevented this result. In spite of our separation for over a century—in spite of the recent fooling with edge tools on the part of Canadian officials—in spite of the threats in the Canadian Senate that our Atlantic cities would hear "the voice of British cannon" and the intimation of the London press that behind Canadian cannon we shall find British gun boats, we have retained our good humor and the people of both countries have remained good friends. But we cannot expect this state of things always to continue.

Whenever England shall again attempt to use Canada as twice before she has—in the Revolution and in 1812—as a base of operations against this country and force the issue of war upon us, our whole people north and south, east and west, will strike for continental unity as the only safe defence from such an attack. Our sons, if worthy of their sires, will continue our work. While we fought to prevent the destruction and disintegration of the American Union, they will fight to add to it and build it up—for American unity—as did Robert Rogers and Stark and Washington and our ancestors before the Revolution. Our sons will complete what the Revolutionary heroes were compelled to leave unfinished, the total emancipation of the North American continent from British dominion.

Unless, when the supreme moment comes, we are not better prepared for defence than now, the war will be unnecessarily prolonged and our loss of life and treasure needlessly great. Canada would be crushed again and again between the upper and the nether millstones, and, if in the end we won, as I believe we should, however desperate and long-continued the fighting, England would come out of the contest shorn of her glory forever, Canada a part of the United States, her other colonies independent, Ireland free and India transferred to the czar, whose "winter palace" would then be found on the banks of the Bosphorus.

Comrades, if I have spoken to you more of the future possible wars of the Republic, than of the past, it is because I look upon you, not as men whose work is finished, but as citizens alive to the welfare of our country, who have dearly earned the right to a voice in its affairs.

Canada is necessary to our national defence. If England would have the moral support and sympathy of her first born, let her cease her display of military strength upon our borders and terminate the standing menace of her occupation of Canada; let her deal fairly by us on the seas and, at least toward us, drop her old time buccaneering swagger. Sometime, sooner or later, England's hour of peril may come. It would be safer for her to trust the natural affection of a proud and powerful people than blindly seek to fetter and bind the great leviathan of the west with her marine cables and her military railways, her battle ships and her fortified strongholds.

The manifest destiny of this country is to control this continent.

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